[Information regarding the Paramount chief is filed under 643, that on territorial chiefs under 622, and that on village headmen under 624.]

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105 643 On a man's relationship to his chief depends his residence, his use of land, the economic group he works with, the way in which his food is distributed, the religious and magic beliefs that sustain him in his work, and his social ambitions. Thus without understanding the political organization of the Bemba it is impossible to describe their system of food production.

105 622 643 Briefly, then, this political system consists of a Paramount chief, the Citimukulu, a hereditary ruler with a fixed title, drawn from the royal clan—the *Benaŋandu* or 'Crocodile' people—who traces his descent in the matrilineal line for more than twenty-five holders of the office. The Citimukulu rules over his own district, the centre of the Bemba country—Lubemba—but also acts as overlord to a number of territorial chiefs, who govern districts similar in size, succeed to fixed titles, and are drawn from the same clan, and in fact the same lineage group, as the Paramount himself.[1] Each of these territorial chiefs has one or two sub-chiefs under him, these again being drawn from the royal clan, but in some cases from more distant branches of the family which have become localized in one particular area.[2] Sisters and maternal nieces of the chiefs are reckoned as chieftainesses, *Banamfumu*. They succeed to titles, and rule over villages, while the chief's mother, the Candamukulu, has a small territory of her own, and plays an important part in tribal councils. Beneath the chiefs [624] come the heads of villages (*mwine mushi*, plur. *bene mushi*) appointed by them. A particular feature of this political system is [644] the hierarchy of the 40–50 officials, *Bakabilo*, many of them also of royal descent, who succeed to fixed titles, and perform ritual duties at the court, take charge of the chief's complex mortuary and accession ceremonies, and act as a council for the whole tribe.[3] Besides these hereditary priests and councillors attached to the Paramount's court, though not resident at it, each chief and sub-chief has his own councillors (*bafilolo*), with legal and executive functions, living at his court and appointed by him, and in the

[1] The most important of such territorial chiefs are the Mwamba, Nkolemfumu, and Nkula, and at the moment the first two are own brothers to the Citimukulu, and the last a first cousin.

[2] e.g. Mwaba is a sub-chief of Nkula, but this title has become associated with another branch of the Crocodile clan.

[3] Autocratic chieftainships, associated with hierarchies of hereditary court officials, are found among the contiguous tribes in the Congo, e.g. Luba (Verhulpen, op. cit., pp. 55, 186), Shongo (Torday, *Causeries congolaises*, 1925, p. 55), Kongo (J. H. Weeks, op. cit., p. 37).

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621 [166] lack of permanence. The village buildings are moved, as we have seen, every few years, even though the new huts are usually built within a ten-mile radius, at the most, from the old. But it is not only the site of the settlement that is changed. The community itself alters both in size and composition. It consists in the first instance of a headman who has won permission from the chief to build a village by proving that a party of his near relatives is ready to live with him and to accept his authority.[1] Since polygamy is the exception rather than the rule among commoners, he cannot hope to find a sufficient following among his wives and their children as can the Southern Bantu patriarchs, but he must rely on the strength of a number of other kinship ties which are described in detail below. If he is successful, the village will grow. He and the elder men of the community will attract more and more of their relatives to live with them, while their own children are in the meantime growing up. Thus the composition of the village becomes more varied as the years go by. On the death of the headman, he is succeeded by his heir, his brother, his maternal nephew, or maternal grandson, and the latter in his turn may attract his own near relatives to join the village. The headman's title is passed on in succession just as long as a sufficient body of relatives are willing to acknowledge the new heir. Thus, of the 160 villages in Citimukulu's territory in 1933, 63 had been in existence during the headmanship of three holders of the title, 16 during two, 25 during one, and 46 were new villages just built. In 19 cases, old and new had been amalgamated.

621 624

621 On the other hand, the original headman may have been unsuccessful in holding his village together, and its component households will then have split off, so that the village gradually dwindles in size until it finally breaks up and disappears. This is the inevitable end of all Bemba villages, except in the case of the chief's or the hereditary councillors (*bakabilo*), whose ancestors have ruled over villages in the same locality for twenty or more generations apparently. The changes in the size and membership of a village may coincide with the death of the headman or the appointment of his sucessor but more often with the removal of the village to a new site.[2] The characteristic kinship and political system of the Bemba occasions such changes, and the practice of shifting

[1] The personal favour of the chief is also necessary.
[2] Cf. the example given on pp. 156–7.

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in Chap. X shows a number of such cross-cousin marriages uniting the children of brothers and sisters together and the proportion of marriages of this type in Bemba society is 30 per cent. according to my figures.

Hence in any Bemba village it is common to find the headman, and the other elders of the community, responsible for the welfare of the two types of group—a primary matrilocal extended family composed of a man's wife, his daughters and their husbands, his granddaughters and their husbands, and possibly his wife's mother, and a secondary matrilineal descent group composed of a widowed or deserted sister and her children married or unmarried, or her grandchildren. In each case his duties may extend to relatives in the classificatory degree if these are left destitute, or to kinsfolk of the headman's predecessor in the same degree, i.e. mother, sister, daughter. His relationship to the members of the two groups may be represented thus and his pattern of behaviour to each entirely different:

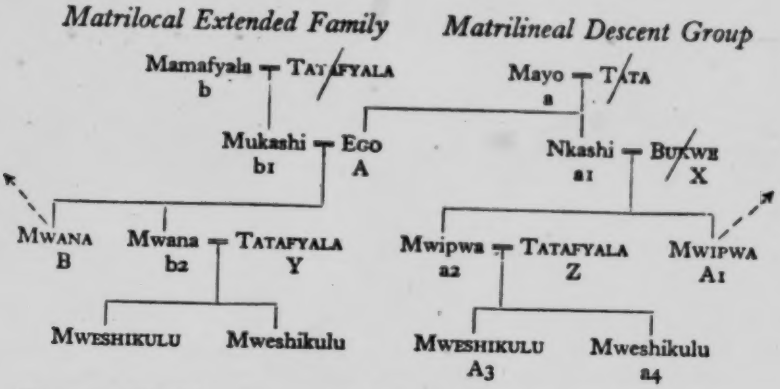

DIAGRAM: N.B. Men represented by capital letters; women by small type; a line through a name represents death; an arrow means residence in another community. A is here head of:

(*a*) his own matrilocal extended family in which his daughter b2 marries and remains in his village and his son B marries elsewhere. He is also supporting his widowed mother-in-law (b);

(*b*) the female relatives of his matrilineal descent group: his mother a, his sister a1, whose husband X is dead and whose daughter a2 is married in the village, while her son A1 has married outside. By cross-cousin marriages between A1 and b2 or B and a2 these two men would have remained in the village.

Mayo = my mother
Mukashi = my wife
Tata = my father
Bukwe = my brother-in-law or in-law generally

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Nkashi = my sister
Mweshikulu = my grandchild
Tatafyala = my son-in-law, father-in-law, maternal niece's husband
Mamafyala = my mother-in-law
Umwipwa = my maternal niece or nephew
Umwana = my son or daughter

Additional Households.

621 Besides the relatives for whom he has the strongest responsibility, there are a number of other kinsfolk who may join a headman and accept his authority. These are, roughly speaking, of two types: (*a*) destitute persons, chiefly women, who want his support, or (*b*) relatives of either sex who are not necessarily in poor circumstances, but who may be attracted by an elder relative's personal popularity or rank to settle with him. These latter may include young men whose normal male guardian is dead, or middle-aged men who want to settle somewhere temporarily, until their own personal following has become big enough for them to risk setting up a community of their own. These additional households may include in the first category, widows of the headman's *nalume*, whom he is bound to inherit or else support; poor relations of his wife, or women who claim the term of grandmother, mother, sister, cross-cousin, or granddaughter but are only distantly related. The second group may consist of male relatives of the matrilineal descent group—younger brothers, maternal nephews, cross-cousins, or grandsons—who have chosen to return to live with him after their period of matrilocal marriage is at an end, or, if the headman is a man of high position, his own sons—almost invariably the case at the court of a chief where the 'sons of the chief' (*bana bamfumu*) have a regularly established position at the capital, bring their wives to live with them, and rival the maternal nephews, the rightful heirs, for favours. Nowadays, clerks earning good money in European employment are similarly able to attract their sons to settle with them, and the statement *aya kuli wishi* ('he has gone to his father') or even *atemwa kuli wishi* ('he likes his father') may cause some comment, but no surprise at the present day. Thus, the presence of the father-son grouping in a Bemba village occurs, however infrequently, although such an association seems to run directly counter to the rules of legal affiliation. Grandsons either through the daughter or through the son also tend to join a grandfather of rank or position.

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621 262 for in the bush some way off. The shortage of relish would have been more pronounced in the ordinary course of events than it actually was during my visit, for since the village stood in good game country, my party was able to provide three large buck for distribution among the inhabitants. The meat orgy described on pp. 158–9[3] occurred in this village.

The Composition of the Village.

621 624 Kasaka was a Bemba village built in what was originally a Bisa district. This part of the country[1] had been conquered by the Bemba under a former chief Mwamba shortly before the arrival of the Europeans, and he, according to the usual practice, had left a number of faithful captains and followers to hold the occupied territory for him, the forefathers of the present Kasaka being amongst them. The latter still spoke of himself as almost a stranger in a foreign land, and traced his origin from a district in the heart of the Bemba country about six days' journey away. Marriages between the Bemba and their conquered subjects had always been common, however, and a number of the inhabitants of the present village were plainly of Bisa stock,[2] and some even described themselves as Bisa.

The village itself was of fairly long standing as Bemba settlements go. The first Kasaka (Kasaka I on the accompanying chart) had been 'given a village' in 1914 by the then chief Mukuikile. He died in 1924 and was succeeded by the present Kasaka (Kasaka II), his younger brother, then a middle-aged man living at Mpika some sixty miles away, in European employment. The heir returned to his brother's village to mourn, to inherit the name, the spirit, and the hereditary bow of the dead man (*ukupyanika*), and finally, one of his widows. He had then to wait to see if his personality and prestige were sufficient to enable him to build up a village of his own. In all Bantu societies it is usual to find a delay of a year or so between the burial of a man and the final settlement of his succession and inheritance, but the Bemba kinship system allows such freedom of choice of residence to a dead man's relatives, that it remains for some time an open question as to whether his successor will be able to hold the remains

[1] The territory of Mukuikile, a sub-chief of Nkula.

[2] Slight differences in the religious and magic rites practised in this area seemed to be the only distinguishing marks.

[3] [Erratum, should be pp. 58–59. - Analyst]

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of the village together or not. To the European it is extraordinary that twenty or thirty families can scatter here and there after a death and continue dispersed in this manner for two or three years, yet remain conscious of their unity and ready to join up again later, with losses and additions, to form a new community. But this is the case in Bemba society in which ties of kinship are eventually stronger than local association, and in the present instance Kasaka II returned to Mpika for a period of two years, taking with him the two most prominent women in the village, his two sisters, the latters' husbands and children. The majority of the other relatives, including the chief widow of Kasaka I, settled down temporarily in neighbouring villages where they had kinsmen.

The community reassembled in 1929, i.e. five years after the last headman's death, and had not moved its site before my visit in the autumn of 1933. Its composition showed clearly those two fundamental principles of local association already described—the matrilocal marriage rule and the strong identification of interest between the brother and the sister. There were four 'big houses' in the village, named for convenience A, B, C, and D on the chart. Kasaka's own family by previous wives had grown up and scattered and he was left living in his old age with NaMarya (A2), the widow of his dead brother, by whom he had two small children (A8 and A9). He was also responsible for four daughters of Kasaka I (A4, 5, 6, and 7), three of whom were married and one unmarried. Kasaka also fed Nakulu Marya (A3), the mother of his wife. This formed one matrilocal group in which the head of the family had succeeded to the care of his brother's widow and children.

The other two chief households in the village were those of Kasaka's two married sisters, NaMukonda (B2) and NaKabanda (C2). Here was a case in which matrilocal residence had persisted throughout the marriage, since these women's husbands, Malalo (B1) and Cabeluka (C1), had come from other villages in youth to marry and had remained in their wives' community all their lives. The groups of households attached to these two big houses have been named B and C respectively. To B belonged three married daughters (B3, 8, 9) and four married sons (B4, 5, 6, 7), and one young boy of 14 (B10). This was an unusual number of sons to remain living in their parents' village.[1] B5, 6, and 7 had all

[1] The opportunity of white employment locally probably accounted for it.

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NaMarya. The permanent group of eaters was thus composed of two men, four women, and three children, and provision for them depended on the amount of labour the group could supply and the energy and intelligence of its members.

Kasaka himself was a dignified old man, conscious of his royal connexions and a supporter of the traditional etiquette. He was a hard worker, who went out alone to garden on twelve days out of the twenty recorded, but as a character he had little force. His authority in the village was weakened by his fluctuating allegiance to the Roman Catholic Church, which prevented him from performing the customary rites to the village spirits in any whole-hearted way.[1] To help him, he had only his son-in-law Findee, who had cut trees for him for four years before marrying his daughter Kampamba, and who was making a garden of his own this season for the first time. Findee was a satisfactory son-in-law as young men go nowadays, but it will be seen that he only worked exactly half as many days as his father-in-law during the fortnight when notes were taken. Kasaka's other son-in-law sent financial support on occasion, as did his absent sons, but did no garden work. This is a typical situation in a modern matrilocal group, though it is probable that if Kasaka had had a stronger personality, a number of his dead brother's relatives, including his chief wife, would not have left him for the neighbouring village of Stefano, and he would have commanded at least a day's labour on his garden from his own villagers, according to tribal custom. As it was, he paid for their help with beer brewed for a working-party. It is common nowadays to find [624] headmen trying to give the hospitality expected of their office without possessing larger supplies than commoners. At the time of observation Kasaka had two half granaries full of millet, i.e. about 4,808 lb., an empty ground-nut granary, a carrying-basket of maize cobs, and one of ground beans, with 4 or 5 lb. of beans, peas, dried leaves, and dried potatoes only. Thus he had a better supply of millet than most of the villagers, probably owing to the help of an active son-in-law, but very few relishes.

The fact that mainly determined the amount of food eaten during the period noted was the shortage of female labour. There

[1] Some of these rites were undertaken by his eldest sister NaMukonda (B2), but he disliked the fact that she officiated and occasionally resumed control.

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554 [465] a reflection of this desire to build up a following.[1] 'Why do you pay 5*s.* a month to three boys to work for you when you only earn 60*s.* yourself?' I once asked a mine clerk. He answered simply: 'Because I am a clerk. I am not an ordinary man.'

Bemba ambitions are shaped accordingly. In the old days a young man could only hope to rise by attaching himself by marriage to an *umukankala*, by joining the village of a rich relative, a grandfather, a maternal uncle, or more certainly still by currying favour with a chief. This latter he could do by putting himself under the protection of a kinsman who lived at the capital, and joining the ranks of the *bakalume ba mfumu* (boys or pages of the chief) and doing odd services for the *mfumu*. Thus he obtained food, personal favours, and finally advancement, and possibly a wife. Hence the wide use of charms to secure the goodwill of the *mfumu* and to make oneself appear agreeable to him.[2] This is still true to a large extent to-day.

As distinct from the youth, the aim of a middle-aged man, who had already married and risen in the social scale, was to attract as large a following as possible of his kinsmen, and ultimately to found a village himself. His married daughters and their husbands were more or less bound to live with him in any case, but more distant relatives were only attracted to do so if they liked or respected him or felt it to be to their economic advantage.

●624 554 Besides this, a prospective headman had to have the support of his chief, whether he desired to form a new village or merely to inherit the position held by one of his kinsmen. Appointment to offices such as headmanships was limited to men of senior age and descent of a lineage group or even a local branch of a clan; but of those eligible, only men who had won the favours of the chief could expect to succeed. To achieve the position of headman a man had to wait in patience, plot, plan, and try to ingratiate himself with the hospitality he offered and to impress his fellows with his *mano* (good sense). This aim holds good to this day, and to this purpose the ambitious man gives himself entirely, some-

[1] The need for firewood fetched at some distance from the compound is of course another factor.

[2] *Umuti wa cisense.* Cf. L. P. Mair's account of the social ambitions of the Ganda: 'To the Muganda the political system of his tribe was not only the machine which dispensed justice and organised the execution of the king's command, but a social ladder which every man of ambition might hope to climb.' *An African People in the Twentieth Century*, 1934, p. 173.

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times testing his power by settling in temporary grass huts (*imitanda*) with his closest relatives to see whether more distant kinsmen will be attracted to live with him, or going about the country assiduously visiting kinsmen. I met an old native of high family on the copper belt who had lived in the urban area ten years saving up money to buy muzzle-loading guns and attracting the nucleus of a small village group by dispensing hospitality at the mines. 'They will go back with me,' he said, 'when they see I am a great man, and that they will have meat at my village.' Once a village has been founded, the headman's efforts cannot be relaxed, for with the Bemba practice of shifting villages, a kinship system which allows of many types of local grouping, and the Government regulations that any man with a following of nine other taxpayers can split off to form a new community, it is naturally difficult for a man to keep together a large enough following. He must still dispense food, avoid dissensions, and use magic. Otherwise at each shifting of the village people may leave him.

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The aim of chiefs, or indeed of any member of the Royal clan, is very similar although their objectives are on a larger scale. The possible heirs of a chief, his brothers, maternal nephews or grandsons, try to win favour with the ruling chief and to prove that they know how to exert authority and govern a village (*ukuteko mushi*), and hence they tend to congregate at the Chief's Court to carry out responsible tasks for him, and in some cases are given headmanships on trial.[1] Once a young *mwinaŋandu* has attained to a sub-chieftainship he hopes to rise to superior positions. These are chiefly given according to seniority, but, where a man has proved himself unworthy, a different choice would be made. Any holder of the title of chief has, further, to keep men living in his village, and to attract visitors to it. The greatness of the dead Citimukulus is always described by accounts of the immense size of their villages, the number of their courtiers, and the great crowd of visitors and eminent people who sat at their feet all day long. Even to-day capitals are much larger than commoners' villages, and the status of chiefs is still reckoned very largely by the number of huts built round them. A man whose subjects tend to leave his

[1] The present Mukuikile was given a headmanship to one of the Chambesi villages as a young man, but was proved irresponsible and only attained his present position as chief on his return from long years spent as a cook at Livingstone.

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supernatural punishment, but a series of broken obligations such as really to offend a chief are viewed with apprehension by young men as well as old.

Besides this it was the positive aim of every Bemba to win the good will of his chief as we have seen, and the headman who willingly brought workers for the *mfumu* was sure of favours sooner or later. It is possible to watch a headman courting the chief in this way even to-day, and he himself uses any privileges he has had [624] confirmed under the Native Courts Ordinance, such as the right to give a man permission to build a village, to reward any subject who tries to please him.

The tribute labourers got food and beer during the visit and they worked under pleasant conditions in large gangs of friends. Even during my visit I never heard complaints of *umulasa* where the chiefs had means of feeding their workers, and the visit to the capital is considered an opportunity to meet relatives and celebrities, to put grievances before the chief, or to transact any other business. The people still definitely prefer their ruler to have a big granary. It gives them, I think, a sense of security—a feeling of certainty that there will be food at the capital and a knowledge that they are working for a powerful and successful man (cf. p. 214). Besides this, a hungry man has technically the right to call upon [657] his chief for help. I did not hear of this claim being made very often, but still, in a sense, the *umulasa* garden and *umulasa* granary are recognized as belonging to the people. A man can steal from the tribute garden of a chief, but not from those of his wives, and I have sometimes heard old natives speak with pride of 'our' granary, adding, 'It was we who filled it to overflowing'. Thus the commoner got by his labour the sense of supernatural support, a personal approach to his chief, food in return for his work, support in time of starvation, and, as we shall see, leadership in economic pursuits. The chief in return got extra supplies of food to distribute, the means of supporting his tribal council, the necessary labour for tribal undertakings such as road-building, and last, but not least, prestige (cf. Chap. XII).

In brief the extravagant claims of the Bemba king to own all his land and everything that grows or lives in it, only gave him the right to exact small regular dues on the labour and produce of his people, and to call on them for further help in times of emergency. These levies exist, but are very much reduced to-day. They

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present tendency of building smaller and smaller settlements lessens the labour force in this way.

The economic leadership in the village, in so far as it exists, is in the hands of the headman. He directs joint enterprises, decides when the village should be moved, and chooses the new site in co-operation with the other elders. He is in charge of the communal rites, settles minor disputes between the villagers, and represents his people at the chief's court or the District Commissioner's office. He is responsible for the collecting of tribute, providing *umulasa* labour, and for any administrative duties the Government may charge him with, such as the catching of tax defaulters, &c. But there is no doubt that most of the Bemba headman's authority is derived from his position as head of a kinship group, and that he is respected as the grandfather, father-in-law, or maternal uncle of most of the inhabitants, as well as by virtue of his political status (cf. Chap. VII). Thus the power of a headman of an old-fashioned type of community, and in particular those of the *bakabilo*, is in striking contrast to the wavering authority exerted by those ruling over a modern village not definitely composed on kinship lines. For instance, Citikafula, one of Citimukulu's chief *bakabilo*, was headman of a village composed as follows:[1] 25 men, of whom 14 were close personal relatives of the headman (2 brothers, 4 sons, 3 grandsons, 4 maternal nephews, 1 cross-cousin), while the remaining members of the community had come from other villages to marry women at Citikafula's. There were 35 women, of whom 27 were near relatives of the headman (3 wives, 7 daughters, 6 grand-daughters, 6 sisters, 3 maternal nieces, 1 grandmother, and 1 mother-in-law). Hence nearly 75 per cent. of the men and women were members of the headman's own lineage group. In such a village he was able to get large gardens made for him by his younger relatives, strode about the settlement scolding householders with untidy huts, and organized the garden work by constant criticism and encouragement. Whereas Bwembya, a man of equal personality and a member of the royal clan, was headman of a village four miles from Kasama, that is to say, almost within a white township. His community was composed as follows: 52 men, of whom 5 were close relatives only (i.e. father, 1 brother, 1 maternal nephew, 1 brother-in-law, and 1 grandson), and 108 women, of whom 8 were near relatives (1 daughter, 2

[1] Using the kinship terms in their classificatory sense.

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grand-daughters, 2 sisters, 2 maternal nieces, and 1 sister-in-law); 8 per cent. of the inhabitants only were thus closely related to the headman, and 10 men were actually members of quite different tribes.[1] Thirty out of the 52 men had joined the village with the express purpose of finding work with the Europeans at Kasama and not on kinship grounds at all. In a community of this type Bwembya evidently found it impossible to control the activities of his people, and they gave him little economic help in spite of his royal rank. It is often stated that young men lose respect for tribal authorities after working in the mines, and this is largely true, but it must also be borne in mind that the tribal authorities are in charge of groups of quite different composition from those of old days, and they are asked to perform different functions of leadership.

(*c*) *The chief's leadership in economic enterprises.* There are two aspects of the chief's functions as an organizer of labour. In the first place, there are a number of activities he actually initiates and co-ordinates, and in the second, his direction of his own labour force and his accumulation of stores in the capital, sets the pace for agricultural enterprise and forms the basis of the whole economic system of the tribe.

We have seen that the chief actually sets the time for the firing of the gardens, and that the performance of economic rites still to some extent gives the signal for tree-cutting and sowing. The knowledge that big gardens are being made at the capital, acts, as I tried to show, as a stimulus to the undertaking of further work.[2]

Besides, it is difficult to realize, without living at the capital for some time, the extent to which the *mfumu* directs agricultural enterprises by advising or criticizing both the members of his own big village and those of his *icalo*. Ultimately chiefs want food produced in their district, because they then get plenty of tribute. They express this fact quite frankly. A severe shortage also, as I indicated, reflects on their supernatural powers, makes people begin to grumble, and even in time threaten to leave.[3] From all points of view, therefore, it is to the chief's advantage that the people should cultivate efficiently. Their knowledge of cultivating processes, soil selection, and the best moment for planting is also

[1] Note the proportion of men to women in these villages: i.e. 25:35 and 52:108 respectively.

[2] Cf. p. 371.

[3] e.g. the charges made all over the country against Citimukulu during the recent locust epidemic for failure to perform his ritual duties properly.

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TABLE D

Notes on the Structure of the Bemba Village

621 631 I. *Table showing the length of life of the Bemba villages of three big chiefs' territories*, 1934.

Citimukulu's territory (Lubemba): 160 villages.
Mwamba's territory (Ituna): 69 villages.
Nkula's territory (Icinga): 76 villages.

	Citimukulu	*Mwamba*	*Nkula*
	%	%	%
New villages (i.e. headmen appointed in reign of present chief)	29	49	42
Villages with 1 previous holder of headmanship	16	26	9
Villages with 2 previous holders of headmanship	10	14	18
Village with 3 previous holders of headmanship	40	10	13
Villages formed by remnants of 2 or more old villages.	6	..	15

It will be noted that the proportion of new headmanships created by each chief in his own reign is just under half the total titles in the case of the territorial chiefs, about 30 per cent. in the case of the Paramount chief.

The striking difference between the number of old titles to headmanships in Citimukulu's territory and those of the other two chiefs, i.e. 40 per cent. as against 10 and 13 per cent. respectively, is due to the concentration of the hereditary councillors of the tribe (*bakabilo*) who must inevitably be headmen for social, political, and ritual reasons, in Citimukulu's district.

622 624 643 II. *Table showing the proportion of commoner headmen to those of royal blood*, and hence the political powers of the chief.

	Citimukulu	*Mwamba*	*Nkula*
	%	%	%
Number of commoner headmen	49	42	42
Number of hereditary councillors or priests, acting as headmen	30	6	17
Number of descendants of wives of early chiefs acting as headmen	3	..	..
Number of chief's relatives acting as headmen	19	41	33
Number of headmen from other tribes	..	10	10

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It will be noted that the number of commoners given positions of authority is under half the total number in each territory. The far greater number of chief's relatives holding office in Mwamba's country is due to the number of surviving descendants of the previous Mwamba (Mubanga Cipoya) an extremely powerful ruler, who put his relatives in charge of villages all over the country.

(*a*) In the case of Citimukulu, the chief's relatives consisted of: Brother of the chief, 1; sisters, mothers, or maternal nieces of the chief (*banamfumu*), 7; sons of the chief (*bana ba mfumu*), 10 (9 men and 1 woman); grandchildren of the chief (*beshikulu ba mfumu*), 9 (8 men and 1 woman); relatives in law (*bukwe*), 3 (2 men and 1 woman).

(*b*) In the case of Mwamba, the chief's relatives consisted of: 1 brother, 1 sister; 11 ranked as 'children of the chief', 3 of the present Mwamba, 3 descendants of sons of the past Mwamba, and 5 of the penultimate Mwamba (5 women and 6 men in all); 7 were grandchildren, 4 descendants of other royal lines; and 3 descendants of the wives of former Citimukulus.

(*c*) In the case of Nkula, the chief's relatives consisted of: 1 brother and 2 sisters, 5 'children of the chief', 4 grandchildren (1 woman), and 4 relatives in law, and 9 descendants of other royal lines.

III. *Details showing kinship composition of typical villages.*

(Only adult members of the village are noted. Such terms as brother, sister, grandchild are used to indicate own brother and sister as well as the classificatory extension of these terms.)

(*a*) A village composed of the headman's own *ulupwa* (the bilateral group composed of near relatives of both sides of the family, plus affinal kinsmen).

e.g. *Cikutwe*, a young *mukabilo* of Citimukulu's territory (1934).

Relatives of the present headman, including matrilineal group: 1 mother, 4 mother's brothers and wives, 2 sisters and husbands, 2 maternal nieces (deserted), 2 daughters (one married), and 3 grandchildren (1 male and 2 female) with their spouses.

Others: 2 married brothers temporarily resident; and 2 deserted wives, relatives of the headman's wife.

Relatives of the past headman:

Remains of *matrilineal group*: 1 maternal niece (widowed), 3 grandsons (married), 2 granddaughters (married).

Remains of *matrilocal group*: 2 married daughters and husbands, and 1 son (married) temporarily resident.

(It will be noted that Bemba make a difference between the kinsmen of the present and past headman. Both groups are really kin to the

2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
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present headman, since the title is hereditary, but the first are closer connexions to him than the second, and the distinction is made between those men and women who actually joined the community on his account and those who originally belonged to the past village.)

(*b*) *Two villages composed of the family group of the headman plus that of one or more other bakalamba* (*great ones*), i.e. contemporaries, men who have remained in the village after the death of the previous headman, or those temporarily members of the community, while they are gathering a sufficient following to enable them to build a village of their own.

e.g. *Pambalasa*, near Chinsali (1930).

Relatives of headman:

Matrilocal group: 2 wives, 2 married daughters and husbands, 2 married daughters (husbands away), 2 married grandsons, wife's maternal niece (deserted).

Matrilineal group: 1 mother, 1 married sister and husband, 1 maternal niece (deserted), 1 maternal nephew and wife.

Others: 2 married sons and wives.

Relatives of a mukalamba. ShiNconi, husband of headman's maternal niece (i.e. still living in his wife's village, but in his middle age become head of a group of his own), 1 mother, 2 married sisters, 2 brothers (married to Pambalasa's daughters), 1 brother also married into the village.

Relatives of a mukalamba. ShiMulenga (awaiting permission to form a village of his own) and head of a following, i.e. 2 wives, 1 mother, widowed wife of father, 4 married sisters, 3 married maternal nieces, wife's brother, 3 unmarried maternal nephews. (With this following ShiMulenga formed a village in 1931.)

Kacienga, near Shiwa Dandu (1931 and 1933).

Headman's *matrilocal group* composed of his wife and 7 married daughters and their husbands; the mother and deserted sister of one of his sons-in-law, and a married sister of his wife's.

Two bakalamba, distant connexions of the former headman, each with his own small following composed of 2 married daughters and their husbands.

(*c*) *Village formed on a basis of common purpose.*

Mulenga, near Nkula, 1933. The village of an *ngulu*, i.e. man possessed by a chief's spirit and able to heal people through his knowledge of medicines and powers of clairvoyance. In this instance the kinship structure was hardly apparent, since so many strangers had joined Mulenga in order to get his blessing (many of them barren women hoping to secure children through the blessing of the spirit).

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Fishing in the neighbouring river, Cambesi, was also lucrative. The community was composed as follows:

The headman's relatives: 2 married daughters and husbands, 2 wife's sisters (deserted); 1 maternal niece (married), 1 maternal nephew (married), 1 female cross-cousin (deserted), 1 son (married).

Strangers: 9 married couples some temporarily and some permanently part of the community, and 3 deserted wives.

This made the total male and female relatives of the headman, 12, and the total number of strangers, 21, an unprecedented state of affairs in an ordinary village.

Cf. also the two villages analysed on pp. 385–6.

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[p. 416 is blank]

167 by which a young son-in-law is gradually incorporated into his wife's group
593 is therefore altered. The young wife remains behind with her own people and not with her in-laws and thus, perhaps, is in a happier position than she would be in a patrilineal society; but Read considers that the brides are better looked after among the patrilineal Ngoni, where a woman's in-laws have made a considerable marriage payment for her and conceive it to be their duty to look after her while her husband is away.(1)

AGE SETS AND ASSOCIATIONS

561 Age is not stressed as a principle of social grouping. Precedence is reckoned on the basis of seniority and, as among other peoples, there are
[881] special terms for the various stages of life, but there are no boys' initiation ceremonies and no regiments based on age such as are found among the Nilo-Hamitic groups in East Africa. The existence of certain occupational
575 groups, as fishing communities, and of associations, such as those of iron-workers among the Aushi and Chishinga, has already been noted. While there are no secret societies among the Bemba, the Twa in the swamps of Bangweulu were renowned for *Butwa*, a secret society whose influence at one time extended the length of the Luapula river on both banks as far as Lake Mweru. Among the tribes affected by the cult were the Aushi, Unga, Shila, Tabwa in the group at present under consideration, and also the Lamba and Lunda.(2) It is suggested that in its original form *Butwa* is now extinct,(3) but it is uncertain whether it still exists in a modified form. Membership was not restricted by age or sex and people were initiated into the mysteries at a festival which lasted several days. The avowed aims of the society were to suppress selfishness and promote social life and its main attractions seem to have been dancing, singing, beer drinks and sexual licence; there was also considerable prestige attached to the ability to converse in the secret language *Lubemdo*.

LOCAL AND TERRITORIAL GROUPING

361 The basic residential group is the village - a collection of 30 to 50 huts in the case of a commoner and several times this number in the case of a chief. All these peoples live in villages rather than isolated homesteads, but the size of the villages and their propinquity vary widely from area to area; Bemba villages, for instance, are often 16 to 20 miles apart.

621 The village normally develops as a kinship unit. It can come into
● 624 existence when a middle-aged or elderly man feels he has a sufficient following of relatives to justify his application to the chief for permission to set up a community of his own. While it is generally built close to relatives, the abundance of land makes it possible to build anywhere within the chief's administrative district. The nucleus is the headman's own matrilocal extended family composed of his young married daughters and their children, together with members of his matrilineage such as his widowed sisters and their sons and daughters. The number of relatives attached to a headman varies with his popularity and efficiency. A man may also succeed to the headmanship of a village by taking the name of his maternal grandfather or maternal uncle by the *kupyanika* system already referred to (see p.15). A

(1) Quoted by Richards, 1940.
(2) Anon. N.A.D.A., 1948. (3) Brelsford, S. 1946, p.14.

chief may, however, put one of his own relatives as headman or headwoman over a village, and here the composition of the community will be very mixed, containing a group of royal relatives together with those belonging to the original village.

Enquiries in 1934 showed that 29% of the villages in the Paramount Chief's territory were new titles, 16% had had one previous holder of the headmanship, 10% two previous holders, and 40% three previous holders. In the case of Chief Nkula's district, new villages form 42%, those with one previous holder 9%, those with two previous holders 18% and those with thre 13%. The remaining villages in both cases were formed by the amalgamation of two or more old villages.(1)

All Bemba villages are, however, liable to change in personnel. Young boys leave to marry and may return again when they have become fathers. Men come from outside to marry girls in the village and may later take them away. The practice of shifting villages every few years provides opportunities for such changes in village composition.

The members of a village acknowledge the authority of a chief who rules over a district (icele) which is a geographical unit with a more or less fixed boundary and name. According to Richards these date from the past and represent territories originally allotted to members of the royal clan. It is clear, however, that some further sub-divisions of territory have taker place. Brelsford gives examples of the division of a district by a chief, and its reallocation to his son instead of to his uterine nephew.(2) It is not quite clear how far the political territory, with a fixed name and boundary, exists amongst the smaller tribes in this area.

Each district has its own capital (musumbo), where the chief lives, and forms a separate political unit. Its inhabitants pay tribute to the chief of the district and in the old days went to fight for him on request. Law cases are taken to the chief's capital for trial and each territory is a ritual unit in the sense that its chief performs the economic rites of the year for its inhabitants. The Paramount Chief, like the lesser chiefs, has his own territory which he administers, but the word "icele" is also used for the whole of the Bemba country.

POLITICAL STRUCTURE

The main political authorities are the headmen, known as the "owners" of villages, the district chiefs and the Paramount Chief. The headman derives his authority from his position as head of a kin group which gives him authority over them and the right of access to the ancestral spirits. He may be said to look after his villagers. As a senior kinsman he is responsible for the maintenance of discipline among the young; he directs communal forms of hunting and fishing. He hears cases informally and initiates the cycle of agricultural activities every year. Since land is not scarce the allocation of land for cultivation is not an important function of the headman, but he acts as arbitrator in any quarrels that may arise over its use. Ritually he offers prayers at a village shrine to his ancestors.

(1) Richards, A. 1939. Appendix D. (2) Brelsford, J. 1944

624 blessing the gardens before firing, the seeds before sowing, and the first fruits of a number of crops. He must organise the payment of tribute and labour to the district chief and pass on chiefly orders and requests. His privileges include the right to personal service from younger relatives and tribute of beer and/or meat. Primarily, however, the position is valued not for economic advantage but for the authority it brings, the command over a small following and the favour of a chief. The sanctions for this authority consist mainly in the headman's popularity, the strength of kinship ties between him and the villagers and their belief that it is dangerous to allow an elder relative to die while cherishing a sense of injury. Ultimately, of course, the headman's power depends on the support of his territorial chief and nowadays of the British Administration.

621 The functions of the different types of Bemba chief differ only in de-
622 gree from those of the headman. Like a headman, a chief is in charge of his own village, his *musumba*, and he tries to maintain and augment this community by acquiring a reputation for popularity and generosity. A chief's village in the old days was described as having thousands of inhabitants. Big chiefs' villages observed by Richards in 1934 had 400 to 600 huts. They were divided into quarters (*fitenta*) ruled over by loyal supporters of the chief, known as *bafilolo*.

622 Besides administering his own village the chief was responsible for mak-
[692] ing and confirming the appointment of headmen; and presiding over a court
[681] composed of advisers mainly drawn from his own village. Witchcraft cases had to be brought to a chief and only the more important among them could administer the poison ordeal by *mwafi*. The chief could in the old days punish by savage mutilations and by selling a man into slavery. Economically the chief was responsible for initiating agricultural activities by performing the necessary rite at the time of tree-cutting, sowing or harvesting. With the tribute labour at his disposal he made big gardens and built gran-
[721] aries from which he fed his courtiers, messengers and workers. The chief initiated military raids and other forms of warfare, and the great Bemba chiefs maintained their monopoly of Arab guns which they traded for slaves. Bemba country was, in fact, an area of strong centralised government. The chieftains of the Aushi, Unga and other associated tribelets were on a much smaller scale and weaker in political organisation.

[759] But the most important and characteristic activities of the Bemba chiefs are ritual. They are reckoned to have in their own persons power to bless and curse. They have to be protected from contact with death and to keep
[763] sex taboos of various kinds for the welfare of the whole territory. It is probable that the Bemba Paramount Chief in the old days might have been described as a "divine king" in Fraser's sense of the word; he was strangled
[769] when on the point of death so that his spirit should pass into the land. The Bemba chief derives his ritual power from the fact that he has succeeded to the names of dead chiefs and is thus enabled to call on a long line of ancestral spirits. Chiefs possess sacred relics - usually stools - which are
622 known as *babenye* and kept in special huts protected by "wives of the dead"
778 or descendants of wives of earlier chiefs. An approach to the ancestral spirits is made at these shrines. Chiefs also sacrifice at the deserted shrines of their predecessors (*mfuba*) and at other spirit centres in the area.

Much of their power depends on the keeping of sex taboos and the

622 territories generally in the capacity of sub-chiefs. Subject chiefs of alien stock, generally of Bisa origin, also hold some chieftainships particularly in the west.

Cases of disputed succession were decided by a meeting composed of members of the royal family and the *bakabilo* or hereditary councillors. Disputed successions and feuds between one chief and another were common in the old days.

642 The succession to Bisa chieftainships also goes from brother to brother
622 and then to sister's son or sister's daughter's son, but the Bisa never
184 reached the same degree of centralisation; they live in more scattered groups and, before the arrival of the Europeans, had no Paramount Chief. Little is known of the political structure of the Aushi and the Unga, but they have certainly not achieved a centralised government, and some of the smaller Aushi chiefs are living on tiny islands in the Bangweulu swamps.

THE MACHINERY OF CENTRALIZATION

642 The Bemba can be reckoned as a more or less centralized State in that
643 its major chiefdoms are controlled by members of one royal family; its Paramount Chief had the command of the army and has the supreme control of supernatural power, the possession of the most sacred of the tribal relics and the right of appointment to lesser chiefdoms. He also provides the final judicial court of appeal.

643 The Paramount Chief and some of the biggest territorial chiefs have
645 attached to them a group of hereditary officials who combine ritual with political and judicial functions. In the case of the Paramount Chief these officials, the *bakabilo*, number between 35 and 40 and form an advisory council on special matters of state. They include the hereditary officials in charge of the chief's relics (*babeny*), the royal buriers and embalmers (*bafingo*) and a number of other officials carrying out special ritual functions in connection with the ceremonial of kingship. These *bakabilo* are in a very powerful position. They are hereditary heads of villages near the capital; they are immune from giving tribute to the chief; they used to wear special head-dresses; they must keep the same sex-taboos as the chief, and are buried in the central district under his control. The real *bakabilo* are those connected with the Paramount's court. They are in fact called "the *Babemba*". The *bakabilo* of the *citimukulu* bury all the major chiefs and they act as regents at the death of the Paramount; any matter of tribal importance, such as a succession dispute, is placed before them. They check the power of the Paramount, since they can, and sometimes do, refuse to perform the ritual on which he depends for the exercise of his power. Being hereditary officials with lines of descent as old as that of the Paramount Chief himself they cannot be removed at will. They form a central tribal council but not a public assembly such as the *pitso* of the Sotho-speaking peoples.

622 Each chief has certain executive officials to support him. These in-
624 clude the *bafilolo* or heads of the divisions of a capital, who maintain peace in the royal village, organise tribute labour and allocate land for cultivation. They are appointed from among the chief's own favourites and supporters. Each big chief had formerly a number of captains or *bashike* of whom some were hereditary and most were appointed at the chief's will.

Luapula Peoples

The fifty or so clans represented in the valley are part of a fairly uniform clan system which extends over the territories inhabited by the Bemba-, Luba- and Lamba-speaking peoples. The *Bena Mumba* (Clay clan) have their *ntulo* at Matanda in the upper valley of the Luapula, those of the *Bakosa* (Millipede clan) and the *Bena Mbushi* (Goat clan) are on the Lualaba; that of the *Bena Mfula* (Rain clan) is in the forest of Ngumbo on Lake Bangweulu. Originally, it is vaguely believed, all came from Kola (Angola?) 614

The *cikota* or *cisaka* is a segment of the clan, no longer localised, whose members gather to discuss *milandu* cases and to make decisions in matters of inheritance and succession. 613

Cikolwe ("big cock") is a term used to denote a common ancestor. It can be applied to the head, alive or dead, of a matrilineal descent group of any size, but usually refers to the ancestor or ancestress who broke away from the clan and led his extended family and followers from their clan *ntulo* to the valley.

Clan membership is not rigidly determined; it is usual to belong to one's mother's clan but it is possible to claim membership of any of the clans to which one's grandparents belonged. The descendants of the Lunda of Muata Yamvo remain patrilineal. The Luba from the Lualaba, who joined the Lunda and became Lundaised, were previously matrilineal. 611 614

TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION AND SETTLEMENT

Villages were originally founded by the immigrant groups under the leadership of *fikolwe* (sing. *cikolwe*) many of whom were women. The nucleus of each group was formed by a single matrilineal descent group, *cikota*. In spite of inter-marriage and increasing spatial mobility, which tend to obliterate the original connection between the territorial and the kinship structure, villages are still identified by outsiders with their founding clans. 621

Village headmanship remains in the *cikota*. The headman succeeds to the office, the name, the wives, and the insignia (belt and gun or spear) of his predecessor. He has the charge of *nshipe*, the village medicine. A village is divided into wards, *fitente* (sing. *citente*), in which the households of close relatives are grouped together. [624]

Most of the old village sites in the dambos of the Luapula tributaries are now derelict. With the coming of the Pax Britannica and the development of cash sales of fish the villages moved closer to the river edge and now extend along the trunk road. New villages recognised by the government must number at least fifteen tax-payers. The average size of villages is 150-200 inhabitants. The capital has a population of 3,000.(1) 361 621

Formerly the huts were circular, grass-roofed, woven bamboo structures,(2) scattered amidst cassava plantations.(3) Nowadays the villages are more 342 361

1) The capital is usually referred to as Kazembe. It was moved south after the Yeke invasion. The old site is part of the territory settled by the Bemba after they had assisted Kazembe against the Yeke. The new site was previously known as Mwansabombwe.

2) Valdez, II, p.249; Burton, p.46. (3) Livingstone, I, p.248.

Luapula Peoples

(6)

631 The kingdom of Kazembe extended from the Lualaba to the Bemba country and from the Aushi paramount chiefdom of Mereseere to the Taiwa chiefdom of Nsama. The districts at a distance from the capital were governed and defended by resident *bakalonge* (watchmen) appointed by and answerable to
636 the Kazembe. Outlying dependencies, *anyanga* (sing. *yanga*), were con-
701 trolled by Kazembe's agents who travelled with their *mbumba* (retinues) to collect the tribute. There was no standing army.(1) In time of general war the governor of the frontier district, Mwenempanda,(2) commanded the troops raised by provincial chiefs.

361 The earlier capital, on the eastern side of Lake Mofwe, had to be
643 moved to a new site at the death of a Kazembe.(3) It was surrounded by a
644 deep ditch(4) and enclosed with a wall of reeds. Its gateway was decorated with dozens of human skulls.(5) On returning to his country after the Yeke raids had been beaten off, Kazembe moved the capital farther south to Mwansabombwe where it has remained. The Kazembe had a large corps of palace officials, many of whom were his *bacinamo* (fellow-clansmen of his mother), and a bodyguard.(6) Fumo Anceva,(7) the Kazembe's chamberlain, superintended the management of the palace, escorted foreigners and arranged audiences. There were five classes or ranks of Lunda: Kazembe and his family; the descendants of the Lunda chiefs from Mwata Yamvo's country; those of the Luba chiefs from the Lualaba invested by Mata Yamvo; those of the clan heads who came with the first Lunda expedition; and those descended from the indigenous Shila chiefs and headmen admitted to Lunda-hood. Only sons of a Kazembe by a Lunda woman of the second or third rank were eligible for the position of Kazembe.(8) A reigning Kazembe usually recognised his successor officially.(9) The badge of office, the *lukano* armband, had to be transferred from the arm of the dead Kazembe to that of his successor.(10) A mutobo-tree leaf was inserted in his mouth during the enthronement ceremony.

643 Kazembe and his household lived in the *mosumbo*, the royal enclosure.(11)
644 His first four wives were given traditional names: Moari, Intemena, Kasaleuca, Fuuna.(12) The families (? lineages) of women who had borne a Kazembe formed a nobility. Their members were the *bacalulua*.

624 Village headmen are nowadays administrative and ritual officials. They transmit the decisions of the Native Authority; they act as mediators in disputes, and endeavour to settle them amicably without the parties going to court; they organise work-parties to clear channels and repair village fences; they attend the village medicine (*nshipa*), ritually purify lion-killers, and take ritual measures to end a drought. Formerly they officiated at the sowing and first-fruits ceremonies. They are appointed by the Kazembe from among the members of their predecessor's *cikota*. District
622 chiefs hear cases in the first instance. An appeal from their decisions can be made to Kazembe, who is head of the Native Authority. The chiefs have succeeded the tax-collectors who were established under the British

(1) Valdez, II, p.230.
(2) Gamitto, I, p.244; II, p.10; Burton, p.130.
(3) Livingstone, I, pp.247, 264; Burton, p.139.
(4) Burton, p.43. (5) Livingstone, I, p.247.
(6) Valdez, II, p.228. (7) Burton, pp.101, 208.
(8) Gamitto, II, p.15. (9) Valdez, II, p.232.
(10) Gamitto, II, pp.25-6. (11) Valdez, II, p.214.
(12) ibid., p.254.

Section 6.—SONS OF ROYAL CHIEFS.

565 622 624 I have dealt with the most senior son—Makasa, and how the line of all the sons of chiefs leads up to this one chieftainship. But not all sons get chieftainships as there are not enough posts to go round, so favouritism as well as ability are factors in these appointments. It does not matter whether a son is born of the head wife or of any other wife. There seems to be a vague system of training sons and discovering the more efficient ones. As the sons grow up into youths they are given sections of the chief's village (*ifitente*) to look after. Then as they pass to manhood the better ones are made village headmen. So when a chief's appointment comes vacant there is some indication of the abilities of the sons.

557 622 I give a table of sons holding posts.[1] This shows their seniority, but not their status which in most cases cannot be assessed. As the table shows, not all sons hold posts and it is not always the older sons who get them. They may be passed over in favour of younger sons, and once passed over it is unlikely that they will get a post in the future. Names, as usual, mean nothing. A son takes the seniority of his father, but as I tell now, such seniority may get him nowhere, for the following tendencies and facts affect the succession of sons of chiefs:

(a) In addition to Chitimukulu and Mwamba only Nkula and Makasa seem to have had the power to creat chieftainships for their sons and to appoint successors.

(b) There was and still is a tendency for the reigning chiefs to push their own sons at the expense of the sons of dead chiefs although the latter are most probably senior. This tendency perhaps Government should support as it leads to the appointment of younger men.

(c) In the past, the sons of Chitimukulu were given the eastern chieftainships—Chisangaponde, Mukwikile, Mubanga and Makasa. The sons of Mwamba went to the west—Mporokoso, Sunkutu, Lwali, Chipalo, Tungati, Muchereka, Munkonge, Misengo, Kasonka, Luchembe, Lukaka. The sons of Nkula kept to the east of Chambeshi.

I want now to discuss these three tendencies in detail.

(a) Appointment of Sons.

I have discussed in Section 2 the powers of Nkula in connection with the appointment of his sons. The most recent evidence of them is in the appointment of his son as regent to Lukaka. The first Lukaka was allied to the old defunct Shimumbi line for he was a son of Shilukamba Chikwanda the founder of that temporary branch of chieftainship. The second Lukaka was son of Chitimukulu Chikwanda C8 and this son is alive to-day. He is very old and the appointment of a son of the present Nkula D14 as regent is quite valid. The Lukaka is in the area of Nkula's influence and is not

[1] [cal. 116, pp. 52-53]. —Ann[ot]

7: Richards E-5 (1930-1934) 1940 FQ5 Bemba FQ5

more usual to live with kinsmen on the matrilineal side, the grandfather or the mother's brother, yet a man may choose to live with his father's people by preference, and they play an important part at all the great ceremonial occasions in his life. The strength of the bilateral *ulupwa* is in fact one of the distinguishing features of the Bemba kinship system as compared with the strongly patrilineal societies of South Africa to my mind. It affects the political system in two ways. First, it allows for a much greater variety in the composition of the village, and more possibilities of change in its membership; and, secondly, we find in the case of the chief's relatives that the *ulupwa* of a ruler is an important unit in the whole political machine. A ruler's sons receive positions and office as well as his heirs, the maternal nephews; and his father's relatives and those related to him by marriage are also favoured, so that his grip over the country is a strong one.

(2) *Local Grouping*. The local unit in Bemba society is the village (*umushi*, plur. *imishi*). It contains on an average thirty to fifty huts, and is a kinship unit first and foremost. A village comes into being when a middle-aged or elderly man has acquired a big enough following of relatives to justify his applying to the chief for permission to set up a community on his own. He usually builds near other relatives, but land is so plentiful that it is perfectly possible for him to settle almost where he pleases within the chief's domain. The core of the village consists in the first place of the headman's own matrilocal family group, i.e. his married daughters with their husbands and children, and probably members of his matrilineal descent-group, i.e. his sisters and their children. Polygamy is rare. A chief will have a number of wives, say ten to fifteen, but commoners do not often have more than one.

A successful headman will be able to attract more distant relatives to him, both on the patrilineal and matrilineal side. On his death he may be succeeded by his heir, and such a local community may continue in existence with frequent changes in its composition, for two, three, or even more generations. Indeed, the village of the hereditary officials of the paramount chief (*bakabilo*, cf. pp. 100, 108) remain permanently fixed in one village. Thus in every district there are a number of new villages brought into existence by the chief's favour (*ukupokelafye kuli mfumu*) and therefore specially dependent on his support. These include communities newly gathered together by commoner headmen, as

7:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1940 FQ5 Bemba FQ5

621 described, as well as existing villagers which have been given, with or without the inhabitants' goodwill, to a relative of the chief. 624 Besides these new headmanships, there are those founded in the chief's predecessors' reigns and described as such, and on the whole less dependent on the present ruler. The proportion of new to old villages in Citimukulu's district in 1933 was as follows:

On 160 villages:

	per cent.
New villages	28
Villages with one previous holder of the headmanship	16
Villages with two previous holders of the headmanship	10
Villages with three or more holders of the headmanship	40
Villages constituted from remnants of two old villages	6

The skill with which he allots headmanships, and the positions in which he places his own relatives, contribute greatly to a chief's power.

621 166 In spite of the provisions for inheritance of headmanships, the Bemba village is an impermanent community from many points of view. It moves every four or five years, in keeping with the practice of shifting cultivation, and is liable to disruption at the death of an important member or at any loss of popularity by the headman. The plentiful supply of land and the many alternative possibilities of kinship grouping provide ample opportunities for a man to change from one village to another if he pleases, and in any case he is almost bound to live in a series of communities during his lifetime, e.g. the village of his birth, that to which he moves when he marries, any other village he may go to when he acquires the right to move his wife and family from her people's care, and lastly, in some cases, a community of which he may acquire the headmanship through succession to his maternal uncle. Hence, although a man's companions and fellow workers are those of his *umushi* and he speaks with some affection of the village of his birth or of his mother's people (*icifulo*), yet the bonds of kinship are much stronger than those of the impermanent local group. A Bemba is a member of a *ulupwa* and may move as he pleases to live with any of the relatives composing it, and he is the subject of a chief and may obtain permission to live in any part of the latter's territory, but his ties to a given locality are not necessarily strong.[1]

[1] cf. my *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia* (1939), chap. vii.

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in prayer. When a man or woman dies, his or her social personality must be immediately perpetuated by a successor who passes through a special ritual (*ukupyanika*) and thus acquires the name, the symbols of succession (a bow for a man and a girdle for the woman), and the *umupashi* of the dead man. By this social identification, a man assumes the latter's position in the kinship-group, uses the same kinship terms and, in the case of a chief, it is almost impossible to tell when a man is describing incidents which took place in his own life or those of an ancestor two or three generations dead. So important is this social perpetuation of the dead considered that immediately after a death, before the successor has finally been appointed, a small boy or girl, usually a maternal grandchild, is chosen to inherit the name of the deceased temporarily (*ukunwa menshi*, 'to drink the water'). He or she is given some small piece of the latter's property and thereafter addressed as grandfather or grandmother, or whatever the right kinship term may be.

In the same way, a chief, once he has succeeded to the name, the spirit, and the sacred relics of his predecessor, has magic influence over the productive capacity of his whole territory. His ill health or death, his pleasure or displeasure, his blessings or curses, can affect the prosperity of the people, and even his sex life reacts on the state of the community.[1] For a chief to break a sex taboo is an act which may cause calamity to the whole people, and the rites by which he is purified after sexual contacts form one of the most important elements in the politico-religious ceremonial requiring the participation of thirty or forty hereditary officials (*bakabilo*) in the case of the paramount. Conversely, legitimate sex intercourse, especially as prescribed on certain ritual occasions, may actually be a health-giving influence. Any headman has a certain degree of supernatural influence in his own village as the successor to his predecessor's *umupashi*, but a chief has considerably more. For all these reasons, ritual precautions guard the sacred person of a chief. Special taboos must be kept to preserve the ritual purity of the ruler's sacred fire, and his sacred

[1] There are rumours that chiefs were throttled by their hereditary councillors when they were obviously sick unto death, for fear they took 'the land' into the grave with them. This information was sent me by Mr. T. Fox-Pitt after I had left the country and was afterwards checked by Mr. Godfrey Wilson. In fact it is probable that in the old days the Bemba chiefs would fall under Frazer's definition of a 'divine king'.

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legal rights of the two rivals, and the rather complex machinery of tribal deliberation on such matters (cf. p. 109) was not called into motion.

The chart also shows clearly the way in which certain chieftainships have also tended to become fixed in different family lines of this main branch of the *Bena yandu* even during the last four generations, i.e. the Mwambaship, the Nkolemfumuship, the Mpepoship in the line of the chieftainess Mukukamfumu, and the Nkulaship, the Cikwandaship, and the Ceweship in the line of Nakasafye. The separation between these two branches will probably become wider and wider with time. In the case of the outlying sub-chieftainships, this separation off of local family lines of the royal clan has proceeded even further. To conclude, there are definite rules of succession according to Bemba kinship but the type of matrilineal succession usually provides two or three possible heirs, and in the case of the bigger chieftainships there are a number of different factors, such as the paramount's control over the more important *ifyalo*, the traditional order of succession to different offices, local feeling in the case of sub-chieftainships, and last, but not by any means a negligible point, the personal qualities of the candidates themselves.

IV. Functions and Prerogatives of Leadership

The functions of the territorial heads, i.e. chiefs and headmen, seem to be derived from two sources—the position of the leader as head of a kinship group and his role as the representative of a line of dead ancestors in a particular district. In the case of a headman, these two aspects are indistinguishable, while the latter predominates where a chief is concerned.

(*a*) *The Headman*. Bemba headmen are described as looking after, keeping, or actually 'herding the people' (*ukuteka bantu*). As senior kinsman of most of the villagers, a headman is responsible for the discipline of the children and young people; he hears cases informally and directs some economic activities. There are few activities carried out by the whole community in common except fishing and hunting, but besides organizing these latter pursuits a good headman initiates each new agricultural process and encourages and criticizes the younger men and women. Land is not often a matter of dispute in this area. The headman does not allot individual plots, but listens to cases should any arise. He is said to

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624 'feed his people' and actually does so if they are in need, besides dispensing hospitality to strangers.

[778] The head of the village acts as its ritual head. In the old days, he put up one village shrine to his own ancestors and one or more others to the dead chiefs of the land. This is still done in out-of-

[782] the-way parts of the country and in most places, I think, prayers are offered to these tutelary deities, whether shrines are built to them or no. The headman, like the chief, also influences the life of

[833] the community through his own person. He must 'warm the bush' (*ukukafye mpanga*) by an act of ritual intercourse with his

[788] wife before the huts of a new village are occupied. He blesses seeds for sowing, axes for tree-cutting, and first-fruits. His fire stands for the life of the community as a whole and must be ritually lighted when occasion demands. He presides over the

[787 788] special divination rites connected with village activities, such as the founding of a new community or the death of a member, and blesses new babies or individuals who are sick.

In the political hierarchy, the headman has his definite place. No Bemba may cultivate land except as a member of a village group, and the headman is responsible for organizing the supply of tribute and labour which must be paid to a chief by the community as a whole. He accompanies his villagers to court when they have cases to present and often speaks for them. He transmits the orders of a chief to his people and nowadays those of the Government.

[602] His prerogatives are few in number. As head of a kinship-group, he can command personal service from his younger relatives and should be able to exact one day's work from his people on the first day of tree-cutting and sowing. He is always given tribute of beer or meat. But probably, apart from these few economic privileges, the Bemba headman values most his position of authority, his small following, and the favour of his chief.

The sanctions for his authority nowadays are mainly his popularity, together with the strength of kinship feeling, and the belief of the Bemba that it is dangerous to allow an older relative to die

[789] injured. His supernatural powers were a source of strength in the old days, but to a very small extent now, and it must be admitted that the forces which keep a village together are not very strong. It is a constant fear to a headman that his people will melt away.

622 (*b*) *The Chief*. The functions of the different types of chief